
Urbanization in Africa

A Handbook

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Côte D'Ivoire

Philippe Antoine and Aka Kouame

Côte d'Ivoire is one of the most highly urbanized African countries. In fact, out of its 10.8 million inhabitants in 1988, 4.2 million lived in cities, representing 40 percent of the population. This urbanization process is relatively recent, and only began in the 1950s. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, Côte d'Ivoire was forsaken by European merchants. There were very few coastal settlements (Assini, Grand-Lahou, Grand-Bassam). In the country's interior, a few cities served as stopovers for caravans (Bondoukou, Kong). Côte d'Ivoire became a French colony in 1893, but for the most part in theory only as a large part of the territory remained "uncontrolled" (Rougerie, 1972). The colonization process brought military and administrative posts to the country's interior. Simultaneously there was the need to facilitate the gathering and export of agricultural products.

The first cities resulted from these two administrative and economic necessities, and most cities today are circles or old trading posts (Kipre, 1985). The first urban network since Abidjan would be designated along the railway line: Agboville, Dimbokro, Bouaké, Ferkéssédougou. Between 1904 and 1945 urban growth remained relatively moderate, approximately 2 to 3 percent annually. The settlement of cities resulted from European colonization (administrators, merchants, forest and agricultural exploiters and their families) and by the migration of natives of Côte d'Ivoire and migrants of other African countries, occupying subaltern posts in administration and commerce or becoming workers in public utility fields.

The development of the urban network began with the valorization of the colony. This led to the opening of the port of Abidjan (the piercing of the Vridi

Canal, finished in 1950, gave the capital its deep water port) and the extension of the road network from the east to the west, which were the privileged zones of the plantation economy, and the prolongation of the railway track up to Ouagadougou in 1955. The latter particularly facilitated the progression of the Burkinabé labor force toward the public utility works, forest exploitation, and coffee and cocoa plantation zones. The movements brought on by these activities led to a level of urbanization of 15.4 percent on the eve of independence (Koffi, 1991). In 1960, coffee, cocoa, and wood represented 50 percent, 23 percent, and 17 percent respectively of export values. The port of Abidjan rapidly became the main point of export activities. All lines of communication converged toward the new capital. To these port activities was joined the demand for a labor force for large equipment work, housing construction, and service and commercial activities. In the interior of the country, even though urban growth was significant, there were only 10 cities of over 10,000 inhabitants on the eve of independence.

During the 20 years following independence, Côte d'Ivoire's model for development depended on the diversification of agricultural exports (palm oil, banana, pineapple, cotton, sugar cane, etc.) and on a policy for industrialization aimed at satisfying the markets of the interior. At the time of its independence, there were 60 factories and French capital controlled 92 percent of the production (Dubresson, 1989). A double process followed: the substitution of imports and the transformation of local products intended for export, supported by some state agencies. In 1980 industrial activity furnished one quarter of the gross domestic product (GDP), and over the period 1960–80 the growth rate of the manufacturing industry was about 13 percent annually. This tendency was reversed at the beginning of the 1980s, production stagnating (even regressing in 1983 and 1984). The scale of the urban network changed; the number of cities of more than 10,000 inhabitants jumped from 20 in 1965, to 44 in 1975, to 57 in 1988 (Dubresson, 1989; Chaleard et al., 1990). Nonetheless, the urban network remained in imbalance, two out of every three cities being located in the south of the country, and Abidjan remaining predominant despite government attempts, in the 1980s, to engage a policy of decentralization and municipalization. This policy was completed in 1983 by the decision to transfer the capital from Abidjan to Yamoussoukro (in the center of the country). However, it must be noted that, nearly 10 years later, the ministries and embassies still remain in the old capital. Industrial production equally remains concentrated in this city, which furnished 72 percent of manufacturing production in 1979, as opposed to 56 percent in 1965 (Dubresson, 1989). Despite the slowing of its growth, Abidjan was home to 45 percent of the country's urban population in 1988, whereas only 38 percent of the urban population resided there in 1965. Sixty percent of jobs in the secondary sector and 75 percent in the modern tertiary sector are concentrated in Abidjan (Koffi, 1991). But since large numbers of migrants are attracted to Abidjan because of the concentration of industrial activities and of employment, it is not certain whether the investments implemented in the different sectors of

urban development (employment, housing, health, education, transportation) could respond to the aspirations of all of the townspeople. The object of this study is to render an account of the mechanisms which led to this "disequilibratory" urbanization, its modalities, and its consequences on the living conditions of urban populations, notably that of the city of Abidjan.

After having seen the modalities of the country's urban growth and the relative weight of natural and migratory growth, we will analyze the evolution of settlement and habitation in Abidjan then look at the evolution of the labor force and of revenue, before drawing a schedule for a population policy in the field of urbanization.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC COMPONENTS OF URBAN GROWTH

Even having declined during the last decade, urban population growth has been very strong since the late 1950s. The average annual growth rate of the urban population was 8.1 percent from 1965 to 1975 (Ahonzo et al., 1984:28) and 5.4 percent between 1975 and 1988 (Ba, 1991:14). Despite the fluctuation in growth from one decade to the next, the level remained very high. Growth was particularly strong in the city of Abidjan, where the annual rate rose to 11 percent (as opposed to 7 percent for the other urban centers) toward the end of the 1970s, and 4 percent between 1984 and 1988. This strong urban growth was the result not only of the combined effects of the balance of migration and of natural increase but also of the reclassification of cities.

Migratory Growth

Migration is a very highly intensive phenomenon in Côte d'Ivoire. In fact, the country has experienced significant international immigration since its independence because of an open-border policy and the economic prosperity enjoyed during the first two decades of its history. This immigration has occurred in as strong a significance for rural destinations as for urban destinations (51 percent and 49 percent respectively in 1978) (Ahonzo et al., 1984:82). According to census data, the foreign population in Abidjan represented 44 percent of the city's population in 1955, 39 percent in 1975, and 37 percent in 1988. According to the same sources, the two most important communities of origin of immigrants are Burkina Faso (275,000 persons in 1988) and Mali (166,500 persons the same year). The relative proportion of the first group declined compared to 1975, suggesting the hypothesis of returns or of orientation toward secondary cities for certain Burkinabé. Other nationalities are particularly represented in Abidjan, origins mentioned according to their numerical importance: Guinea (58,000 persons in 1988), Ghana, Nigeria, Benin, Togo, and Senegal (23,500). The diversity of origins underlines the scope of Abidjan's hinterland. Regarding the non-African population, it has strongly declined from 25,250 in 1975 to 22,120 in 1988.

Even in the country's interior, the population experienced intense geographic mobility due to the orientation of development policy favoring cities (notably Abidjan). Intense migratory movements occurred, on the one hand, from rural zones toward the secondary urban centers and Abidjan and, on the other hand, from the secondary urban centers toward Abidjan. Thus in 1978 migration exchanges between the different strata resulted in a negative balance for the rural areas—favoring Abidjan and other cities—which was compensated by the surplus registered by rural areas over foreign. The balance was positive for the intermediate cities to the detriment of the rural and foreign spheres, but negative with Abidjan. Abidjan registered a positive balance with all other strata for a net balance of 87,621 persons (Kouame, 1987).

Migration contributed a very important part of urban growth. One can even say that it was the most important source of urban population growth in Côte d'Ivoire toward the end of the 1970s. In fact, in 1978 it accounted for 62 percent and 54 percent of the respective population growth of the city of Abidjan and of other interior cities. The annual migration growth rates were then 7 percent and 4 percent, respectively. For Abidjan, the net rate of internal migration was 4 percent and that of international migration was 3 percent. For the interior cities, the rate was 2 percent in both cases (Ahonzo et al., 1984).

Over the course of the last decade, this share has weakened. Migratory growth represented no more than 27 percent of the total growth of the city of Abidjan, for a net migration rate of merely 0.8 percent. The city even registered a negative migration balance with other regions of the country (rural areas and secondary urban centers, being 0.7 percent). The 0.8 percent positive migratory growth was due to exchanges made with the exterior favoring Abidjan. Abidjan's annual growth rate was merely 4.8 percent, and the average annual growth rate between 1975 and 1988 was 5.6 percent. This represents a drop nearly in half as compared to the rate at the end of the 1970s.

Detailed data are unavailable for the secondary urban centers, but all indicators suggest that the intermediate urban regions have maintained their growth rhythm and that migration has probably played an important role. In fact, the average annual population growth rate of the interior cities between 1975 and 1988 was 7.1 percent, whereas the natural growth rate in these regions was only 3.3 percent in 1988.¹ Considering an annual growth rate of 7.1 percent for the year 1988,² one can deduce that the migration balance was around 3.8 percent for the intermediate urban regions, which is about the same level as that observed at the end of the 1970s. The intermediate urban regions thus would take the relay from the city of Abidjan in receiving migrants coming from the countryside and probably from abroad, following the economic crisis which has lashed out at Côte d'Ivoire's economy for over ten years. This implies that the crisis will affect Abidjan even more than the other interior cities. This seems most likely seeing that most economic activity and foreign investments, which have certainly been exhausted since the crisis, were concentrated at Abidjan. Secondary urban centers, where economic activity was largely dominated by the informal sector

Table 9.1
Components of Population Change in Abidjan, 1978 and 1988

| | 1978 | 1988 |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Total Growth | 10.9 percent | 4.8 percent |
| Natural growth | 4.1 | 3.5 |
| Migratory growth | 6.8 | 0.8 |
| Internal migration | 4.0 | 0.7 |
| International migration | 2.8 | 1.5 |

Sources: Ahonzo et al., 1984; 108 for 1978. Data for 1988 was calculated from results obtained at the seminar on the diffusion of the 1988 census.

in the past (Dureau, 1987), probably offer a greater potential for sustenance than Abidjan for migrants. Experience has shown them to be more attracted to this type of activity.

Natural Growth

In 1978 the natural growth rate was 4.1 percent for the city of Abidjan and 3.4 percent for the secondary urban centers. Its contribution to urban population growth was 38 percent in Abidjan and 46 percent in all other cities, important although less so than migratory growth. In 1988 the natural growth rate for the population of Abidjan was evaluated at 3.5 percent. This level has declined compared to the previous period. However, thanks to an important drop in the balance of migration, natural growth now constitutes the principal factor in urban growth, being 73 percent of the total growth rate of 4.8 percent.

The drop in the level of natural growth translates into a reduction in the variation between natality and mortality in the urban regions. This occurred in spite of the fact that mortality has continued to drop during the last years in these regions (Table 9.1). Fertility has registered a relatively important drop in urban regions, as opposed to rural regions, where its level seems to have increased. Thus the phenomenon has maintained a constant overall level for the whole country (Table 9.2). The crude birthrate, evaluated at 51 per thousand in intermediate urban zones and 50 per thousand in Abidjan, has dropped to 42 per thousand in both cases. The total fertility rate has declined from 6.4 to 5.1 in the intermediate urban zones, and from 5.6 to 4.7 in Abidjan over the same period. This drop is relatively important when one considers that fertility had remained at a high and constant level over a long period of time in Côte d'Ivoire.

Table 9.2

Mortality and Fertility Rates in the Côte d'Ivoire, 1978-79 and 1988

| Geographical Zone and Rate | Rate per 1,000 | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| | 1978-79 Survey | 1988 Census |
| Côte d'Ivoire | | |
| Crude birthrate | 49 | 48 |
| Crude death rate | 17 | 13 |
| Total fertility rate | 6.8 | 6.8 |
| Rural zones | | |
| Crude birthrate | 48 | 52 |
| Crude death rate | 20 | 16.1 |
| Total fertility rate | 6.9 | 7.0 |
| Urban zones | | |
| Crude birthrate | 51 | 42 |
| Crude death rate | 14 | 9.3 |
| Total fertility rate | 6.4 | 5.1 |
| Abidjan | | |
| Crude birthrate | 50 | 42 |
| Crude death rate | 9 | 7.5 |
| Total fertility rate | 5.6 | 4.7 |

Sources: Abbas, 1991; Djédjé, 1991.

This can be attributed to increases in the proportion of educated women within the female population (Kouassi, 1991:12). In fact, differential analysis by schooling level and place of residence has predicted a much lower fertility level among women having attained at least a secondary schooling. The fertility drop can also be explained by the adoption, in urban zones, of new behaviors favorable to a reduction in family size. In fact, it has been observed that fertility levels have remained higher in rural areas than in urban areas regardless of schooling. The seminar for diffusion of the 1988 census results concluded a trend toward uniformity of certain behaviors of urban women because they would have had

quasi-identical access to a certain number of social services, including family planning services. Urbanization will thus be a strong determining factor of differential fertility in Côte d'Ivoire because it will generate "modern" behaviors regarding procreation (Abbas, 1991:21).

The Evolution of the Urban Network

The 1980s were characterized by a slowing of urbanization. Perspectives led to foresee an urbanization ratio of about 50 percent in 1988. Now census results give a rate of 40 percent (Chaleard et al., 1990). Nevertheless, the analysis can vary according to the perception one makes of the city. According to the Census Bureau, Côte d'Ivoire has 68 cities by a double criterion: having over 5,000 inhabitants, and having at least half of the heads of households engaged in nonagricultural and nonartisan activities. However, according to town planners, these criteria exclude small cities, and according to them the urban population is around 5 million (46 percent of the total population), of which 68,500 persons reside in cities of 4,000-10,000 inhabitants.

Abidjan has maintained its preeminent position. The country's second city, Bouaké (85,000 residents in 1965 and 333,000 in 1988), has seen a lower rhythm of growth. Hopes for reequilibrium put into Yamoussoukro have not been crowned a success, despite sustained demographic growth between 1975 and 1988 (9 percent annually). The city had 110,000 inhabitants in 1988 as opposed to 35,500 in 1975; however, it has not taken Abidjan's relay. The same goes for San Pedro, the country's second port, which also should have attracted numerous migrants. Its population increased from 31,606 in 1975 to 70,611 in 1988. Abidjan thus remains by far the most important city in Côte d'Ivoire.

THE GROWTH OF ABIDJAN

The Stages of Spatial Growth

Abidjan became Côte d'Ivoire's third capital after Bingerville, the second, and Grand-Bassam, where the European population was decimated at the end of the nineteenth century by an epidemic of yellow fever. It would not be until November 28, 1920, that the decision would be taken to transfer the capital from Bingerville to Abidjan, a city where it was hoped a comfortable association would arise between the new capital and the port. Although the transfer of the capital was effectuated as of July 1, 1934, the capital/port association would not be completed until 1950 with the opening of the Vridi Canal. As of this era the city's development would be crystallized around portal activities, and Abidjan would have spectacular demographic growth, becoming at the same time the principal industrial and commercial center of the country, and of all the subregion.

Its population, estimated at merely 1,400 inhabitants in 1912 and 17,500 in 1934, increased to 65,000 inhabitants in 1950 and 180,000 in 1960. Enumerating

950,000 residents in 1975, the city's population was evaluated at 1,934,000 inhabitants at the last census in 1988. Since 1950 and until the end of the 1970s, the city grew at a rate of 10 percent annually. This growth, we have already seen, is primarily the result of internal and international migration. Parallel to these external exchanges, the city was also subject to important internal mobility. Hence in 1978-79, 200,000 persons changed their dwelling (representing 31 percent of the population).

Population growth profoundly modified the distribution of inhabited sites. Before colonization, several Ebrié villages spotted the space today covered by the agglomeration.

Various studies undertaken since the 1955 census permit an apprehension of the evolution of the population by large geographical areas. Until 1980, the agglomeration consisted of 12 districts and numerous localities attached to the Bingerville subprefect (Abobo, Yopougon, Ebrié villages). The definition of spatial limits of these different units varied from one organization to the other. Since 1980, the city of Abidjan has been divided into 10 municipalities (Law no. 801182 of October 17, 1980).

Three big stages, three scale changes characterize Abidjan's spatial growth, according to the distinction brought out by P. Haeringer (1977): the colonial town, for which development occurred during the period 1912-50; the portal town, where growth occurred between 1950 and 1970; and the new perimeter, which has been receiving a large part of Abidjan's population since 1970. We will consider, one after the other, these three urban entities.

Côte d'Ivoire's capital since 1934, the colonial town owes its essence to the railway. From 1930 to the postwar period, the city contained only three districts: the Plateau, Treichville, and Adjamé. The Plateau was the administrative center and European district, divided from the other two African districts, from the north by military camps and from the south by the lagoon; these two obstacles plainly separated it from the "popular" Treichville and Adjamé districts. The urban hold then covered 600 hectares, and in total included hardly more than 60,000 inhabitants in 1950. Despite spatial expansion of the city, the two "popular" districts continued to attract residents, and regular human settlement continued there up until the 1970s. Since the rhythm of growth has slowed down substantially the last few years, fewer and fewer new migrants arrive there. The population of these districts has increased from 98,300 in 1955 to 241,452 in 1988.

The agglomeration's current physiognomy will be outlined starting from 1948, at the time of the preparation of the urban plan, better known under the name Badani Plan (1952), which marked the passage from being the administrative town to the port and industrial city.

The development of the port and opening of the Vridi Canal, along with the subsequent expansion of several districts, the second stage in the agglomeration's development, was accompanied by an economic takeoff. The 1952 urban plan, which combined appropriation of land and road outlines, accentuated the par-

tioning of the districts: industrial zones in the southwest and residential district in the northeast. The new projected residential zones sketched certain current districts: North Adjamé, Cocody, Marcory, Koumassi. The Plateau affirmed its role as the city's administrative and commercial center.

This allotment of urban functions entailed serious disequilibriums in the distribution of population and workplace, responsible for the intensification of daily commuting. The priority granted to prestigious urban planning did not permit the release of the financial means necessary to brake the occupation of the island of Petit-Bassam, which nevertheless is hardly propitious to human settlement due to poor natural conditions for drainage. The "port city" was thus the result of urbanization of a large part of Petit-Bassam Island, and of a portion of the coastline toward Port-Bouet, and of the occupation of new residential zones, principally to the north and to the east of the Plateau.

During this period, the city's expansion and settlement particularly affected the south of the agglomeration and, paradoxically, areas that were least easily developed. Urban dwellers seem to have searched for proximity to their work places, principally located on Petit-Bassam. The population of the latter was 80,500 inhabitants in 1963, attaining 408,500 in 1975 and 608,000 in 1988.

Next, the explosion of the city outside its limits would entail the conquest of new spaces on the continental Plateau. Until 1955, the agglomeration was limited to a radius of 4 kilometers, and the urbanized surface attained 1,350 hectares. In 1970, the radius had doubled, and constructed areas covered around 6,000 hectares. Starting from this date, new urbanization poles appeared, contained within a radius of 10 kilometers, with the exception of Abobo, distanced at 12 kilometers from the Plateau.

The new perimeter was the product of a sustained demographic growth. Urban space would win over the continental Plateau after the 1970s. Certain districts were born under a more or less planned form, such as Yopougon, the Riviera, or Deux Plateaux. Others like Abobo would arise from illegal occupation of the land. In 1990, several districts composed the new perimeter: Yopougon, located on the Banco Plateau, experienced mass urbanization, including evolving allotments in the north and numerous inexpensive housing programs constructed by state agencies in the south. An industrial zone was created with the aim of reequilibrating the distribution of activities and creating work poles in the agglomeration's northern part. This commune grew from 99,000 inhabitants in 1975 to 374,500 in 1988.

Abobo, which some thirty years earlier was merely a modest concentration of dwellings around the station, quickly developed to become, along with Yopougon, one of the capital's two most important communes, seeing its population grow from 143,000 inhabitants in 1975 to 401,200 in 1988. Illegally constructed courtyard habitation dominated for a long period, but Abobo has since experienced important restructuring, and in certain sectors the outfits have been considerably improved.

The residential population of this third rim surpassed one million inhabitants

in 1988. Its annual rhythm of growth slowed from 12.1 percent over the period 1975–84 to 4.5 percent for 1984–88, a rate slightly greater than that for the whole agglomeration. The perimeter's limits expanded; urban planners tended to draw long-term development plans for a radius of over 30 kilometers, with the agglomeration reaching Bingerville to the east and Anyama to the north. With the inclusion of these peripheral extensions, 160,175 persons are added to the agglomeration (including the population of urban centers like Bingerville or Anyama). The size of the agglomeration in the larger sense is thus approximately 2,100,000 inhabitants, according to urban planners' evaluations (DCGTX, 1989).

The colonial town constituted for several years the quasi-exclusive core of settlement in the agglomeration; thus, in 1963, 67 percent of the city's population was credited to this central entity, whereas currently 12.4 percent of the population resides in these central districts. Having already experienced negative growth, the zone is now undergoing a moderate growth rate of 2.9 percent.

However, very quickly, since the 1970s the population distribution between the perimeters was deeply modified to attain a momentary equilibrium toward 1973. Since then, a major portion of the population has tended to reside more and more at the city's current periphery (34 percent of the population in 1975; 56.3 percent in 1988).

The periphery's rhythm of annual growth was particularly high between 1963 and the end of the 1970s, clearly setting the pace in all the perimeter, and the periphery grew at a rate barely greater than that of the agglomeration. Finally, at the fringes, toward Bingerville and Anyama, the population grew faster, at a rate of 6 percent annually.

The sustained growth in the number of inhabitants, despite a multiplication of urbanized areas (1,350 hectares in 1955, 12,000 hectares in 1980), had as corollary a reduction in the availability of land per resident, which declined from 108 square meters in 1955 to 77 square meters in 1980. The city's expansion coincided with a rarefaction of inhabitable space. The concentric organization left room for a structure leaning on several poles. But the disequilibrium grew between the north of the city, which included a majority of inhabitants, and the Plateau, the island of Petit-Bassam, and the almost island of Vridi, where remained concentrated most salaried employment of the so-called modern sphere of activity.

Population and Housing in the Area of Abidjan

The concentric growth of the city was accompanied by an accumulation of strata of population and housing. The colonial town rested on a dualism of blacks (Adjamé and Treichville) and whites (the Plateau), characterized by different types of housing according to the district. The city's successive expansions also included diverse settlements. But the concentric superposition gives today a relatively complex urban landscape, always in full mutation under combined

effects of evictions, renovations, development, and the transformation of the functions of certain districts.

Still, housing constitutes a good witness of the agglomeration's diversity, and despite its imperfections, the typology of housing permits a better comprehension of Abidjan's complexity. The choice of typology always arises from a certain arbitrariness, in particular in the field of housing where, quite often, the body's characterization takes into consideration diverse analytical, juridical, economic, morphological, and sociological elements. Since 1960, planning departments have proposed diverse typologies founded, at the same time, on construction's juridical status and of the equipment's economic criteria.

Most of the typologies retained at Abidjan refer to the one elaborated in 1963 by the 1965 SEMA publication and differentiated in four large categories:

1. Residential housing: habitation of European origin, constituted of colonial-type villas. This habitation experienced during the 1970s a certain expansion and takes social symbol functions.
2. Economic housing: implemented by mostly public real estate agencies, and constituted of either single dwellings or continuous habitational units (group housing).
3. Evolutive housing: constituted the oldest form of habitation adopted by the people of Abidjan, named as such because it could progressively evolve with successive construction of new buildings in the midst of the courtyard, or with the construction of new levels on the roofing in existing balconies. This type of habitation, sitting on a parcel of land 40 meters by 40 meters, is thus characterized by a progressive denseness.
4. Shanty housing: concerns the precarious constructions, illegally implanted and located outside of official lots. This category regroups different natured constructions but is where the shanties predominate. The last two types concern the greatest proportion of housing: courtyard housing (Antoine et al., 1987).

This typology, although sometimes too limited, presents nonetheless the advantage of continuity, and permits a diachronic analysis. The residential housing, well represented for over a long period of time in the Plateau, at Marcory, in Zone 4, and at Cocody, has been forsaken little by little in favor of Cocody's extensions: Deux Plateaux to the north and the Riviera to the east. The economic boom of the 1970s permitted the creation of a habitation of important standing (5.9 percent of the population in 1963, 8.4 percent in 1979), favored by excessive amounts for rent. The crisis, the departure of numerous expatriates and the discontinuation of free housing for numerous higher-class employees, had important repercussions on this type of habitation, all the more that the individual villas were abandoned in favor of small dwellings offering more security. Currently 4.2 percent of the population lives in this type of habitation.

Modern economic housing frequently takes the form of large developments including numerous dwellings in street-level bands. The main areas concerned are the north part of Abidjan, Port-Bouet, Koumassi, Marcory, and the heart of Cocody; but the archetype of this habitation is primarily found in the northwest,

in Yopougon, where 35 percent of the population resides in this type of housing. This modern habitation houses in particular natives of Côte d'Ivoire with regular salaries at their disposal (civil servants, wage earners in the modern sector). Paradoxically, large family sizes perpetuate in this type of housing. Thus in 1963 its average household size was 5.7 (whereas the average in Abidjan was 3.9 persons), which attained 7.5 persons in 1975 (against 5.5 for the city's average) and 6.5 persons per household in 1988 (as opposed to 5.4 for the whole of the agglomeration).

Despite all the construction efforts during the 1970s (real estate agencies produced 20 percent of the constructed park), this habitation never sheltered more than a quarter of the population, and the program's termination as of 1979 checked its growth. The relay of public agencies by private agencies in the supply of housing in this type of habitation and in the habitation of average standing could have probably relaunched growth; however, it is not certain that these dwellings were accessible to the masses. There, as in other forms of capital, the pricing level rendered social housing inaccessible to those for whom it was initially intended, and in the 1970s these dwellings became the property of the middle and upper classes. Whatever policies followed, one has the impression that the same result ended up in most large African cities: the system for financing low-cost housing construction and building plots contributed to the enrichment of a clientele benefiting from the transfer of capital for the land. All over one remarks a pattern of exclusion of access to the land and to housing for the masses (Antoine et al., 1987). A status change is currently operating: numerous rental housings (17,000) are being put on sale by the real estate agencies. Certain occupants of these lodgings are among the principal victims of the crisis like wage earners aligned on public remuneration, or license holders of diverse enterprises. They must then proceed to sublet a part of their dwelling in order to continue rent payments (Blanc et al., 1991; Soumahoro, 1992).

Treichville and Adjamé are the oldest districts of evolutive housing. They densified little by little, and many courtyards possess a multileveled habitation. This type of habitation was equally found in most districts, but since the mid-1970s, Abobo (in the north) constituted the most vast area of the agglomeration's evolutive housing. The spectacular growth of evolutionary habitation in this district responded to the wishes of many of Abidjan's residents of having more land available for residential use. The intraurban flux toward this periphery was maintained, even intensified during the 1979-85 period, since the population of this type of habitation grew from 190,000 to 280,000 persons in the parish. This type of habitation sheltered nearly 60 percent of the population. Its relative gain between 1979 and 1988 was the result of a simultaneous termination in low-cost housing projects and a drop in precarious housing in accordance with the progress of urbanization and the integration of the "evolutive" category of these habitations once they were allotted (DCGTX, 1989).

The average household size in these dwellings hardly evolved since 1975: it went from 5.5 to 5.3 in 1988, but it has increased with respect to 1963: 3.9

persons. All strata of the population are represented in this type of habitation, which represents a great heterogeneity: one can say that "the popular are in the court, but all of the court is not popular" (Antoine et al., 1987). The courtyard habitation receives a large proportion of foreigners, workers from the informal sector, and merchants. The courts are increasingly saturated, and their overpopulation can breed many disputes among neighbors. New courtyard conceptions appear: this concerns clearly individualized dwellings in the midst of one common rental courtyard, in particular at the periphery (Soumahoro, 1992). These constructions are made by individuals inspired from the habitation model by bands of economic operations. This new conception of the courtyard corresponds in particular to the expectations of the young generations born in the city and practicing in the tertiary sector.

Shanty housing is still largely represented in Abidjan, but it is for this type of habitation that definitional ambiguities are most numerous. Sometimes the juridical criteria predominate, and one can find solid, high-quality houses classified in this category. But it is mostly the shanties which comprise this type of habitation. One of its major characteristics is the poor hygienic conditions which prevail: greatest density (600 inhabitants per hectare, as opposed to 450 in the economic housing), the absence of toilets in the dwellings, and the lack of running water (9 percent of these dwellings have running water). A higher incidence of contagious diseases can equally be found, as well as a greater level of juvenile mortality (Antoine et al., 1987). Nonetheless, with the extent of the crisis, the social composition of the abridged habitation's population is tending more and more to resemble that of the evolutive housing.

The population residing in precarious housing was estimated at 37,000 persons in 1963 (or 14 percent of the city's population). In 1973 over 20 percent of the population resided in this type of habitation, despite the expulsions and the resettlements of the shantytown of Port-Bouet in 1969. The portion of the population residing in this desultory habitation decreased in accordance with policies of clearances or of restructurations. In 1988, an estimated 285,000 persons resided in shanty housing (13.6 percent of the population) (DCGTX, 1991).

Contrary to widespread opinion, shanty habitation is not the appanage of only foreigners (principally the Birkinabè). With the accentuation of the crisis, more and more natives of Côte d'Ivoire are living in precarious housing. Thus in the oldest slum of Abidjan, that of Vridi Canal which goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century, a recent survey revealed that 43 percent of owners of shanties are Côte d'Ivoire natives, and among them 83 percent effectively live there on site (YapiDiahou, 1992). The policy has evolved, in particular since Abidjan's municipalization: the bulldozer policy has been replaced by negotiation under the influence of different financial backers including the World Bank. Restructuring has endeavored to prevent the risks of social explosion, and has permitted the integration of numerous districts to the city (YapiDiahou, 1992).

Abidjan remains above all a city of tenants: four out of five residents of Abidjan are tenants. The highest rates are registered in evolutive housing (83

percent). The development of a rental market responded to a function of reception of migrants, of whom a large number sought to save money with the objective of later acquiring a house in their neighborhood of origin. A quarter of the tenants were housed by the state, but since 1980 this type of rental has ceased. The state now seeks to aid in the accessibility of proprietorship. Currently, courtyard rentals are covered in a bracket going from 5,000 to 25,000 CFA francs which is relatively high compared to the price of modern economic housing, and compared to the level of salaries.

The Adequacy of the Supply of Social Services in Abidjan

From the preceding it stands out that, despite the efforts provided by the public authorities in the urban project framework, the greatest number of housing problems could not have been resolved except with the development of courtyard habitation. In fact, although covering 46 percent of investments over the period 1973–77, public real estate agencies could offer only 23 percent of all housing as opposed to the 70 percent provided by courtyard habitation, which accounted for but 17 percent of investments (Antoine et al., 1987:145). However, even if courtyard habitation offers shelter to the majority of urban dwellers, it only partially affirms its habitational function due to the degradation of the indoor and outdoor environment of the lots in which their inhabitants live.

Indeed, in these parts of the city of Abidjan, sanitation infrastructures are practically nonexistent. Inside the dwellings, kitchens and sanitariums are collective—when the latter are available—and the water gates drain by various individual systems which do not always offer the desired security (Dubresson and Manou-Savina, 1985)—excepting recently built evolutive districts where a modern courtyard habitation has developed copying the model of modern economic housing (Soumahoro, 1992). Households have access to drinkable water and electricity only from peddlers, legal or illegal, who draw profits from the equipment of nearby districts. In the outdoor environment, substandard equipment is generally found in evolutive housing districts, whereas the infrastructures and collective equipment are nonexistent in the shanty housing districts. With the exception of the older evolutive districts (Treichville and Adjamé) recently allotted, there exists not a single drainage network for consumed water (Dubresson and Manou-Savina, 1985). Overpopulation compounds with the substandard equipment, which leads to overcrowded courtyard housing. This habitation's very mediocre hygienic conditions reverberate on the health of children, especially those of age to play in the courtyard's immediate environment. This is particularly true in shanty housing where juvenile mortality has risen to 115/1,000, as opposed to 47/1,000 in evolutive housing and 20/1,000 in economic housing (Antoine et al., 1987).

Since the beginning of the 1980s, projects aiming for the improvement of sanitational services in the evolutive districts have been initiated with the cooperation of the World Bank and United States Agency for International De-

velopment (USAID). They concerned the emergence of a connection of all municipalities in these districts to the general sanitation network and to the potable water network existing in low-cost and standing habitation districts. The obtained results were mitigated for the good reason that the popular housing zones did not have the means to assume the necessary costs for the connection of individuals to the public network put in place in their districts (Dubresson and Manou-Savina, 1985). Thus, according to results of the 1986 survey on the standard of living, 37 percent of households did not have flush toilets, and 52 percent of households did not have any interior faucets for their supply of potable water.

The variations in juvenile mortality observed earlier also translate into differential access to sociosanitary services according to the type of habitation as well as the insufficiency of these services with respect to the population's needs; and this in spite of a non-negligible concentration of the sociosanitary infrastructure in Abidjan. Indeed, all three of the country's university hospitals are in Abidjan, as well as nearly 60 percent of high-level medical personnel and 41 percent of paramedical personnel from urban public hospitals, for a total strength of 659 (full-time) physicians and assimilated professionals and 2,105 paramedics respectively in 1989. At the same time, in the private sector 52 out of the 64 (full-time) physicians and assimilated professionals accounted for resided in Abidjan, along with 213 of the 240 paramedics. Estimating the population of Abidjan at 2 million in 1989, this entails rates of only 2 physicians and 5 paramedics per 10,000 inhabitants of Abidjan, despite the concentration of medical personnel. Abidjan also accounted for 26 percent of urban hospital beds in 1989, or 2,570 beds; this translates into only 1.3 beds per thousand residents (République de Côte d'Ivoire, 1989). And this does not account for the patients the university hospitals receive coming from all other regions of the country. Incidentally, the established dysfunctions and the sometimes prohibitive costs render access to health care difficult for the majority of the population (Antoine et al., 1987). In a general way, health services are suffering from a case of obstruction and degradation stemming from the deterioration of certain types of equipment, and from the insufficiency in the supplying of medicines (République de Côte d'Ivoire, 1991).

With respect to education, one also realizes that the considerable efforts implemented did not adequately face the demand. Thus, despite the noteworthy progress in the construction of elementary schools in the different districts, the ratio of students per class remains at a high level. So in 1988, the average ratio for the whole city was 50, with a maximum at Abobo (59 students per class) and a minimum at Cocody (38) and the Plateau (37). These numbers were much higher in public education, with an average of 55 overall, and a maximum of 69 for Abobo and a minimum for Cocody (43) and the Plateau (40). In secondary schooling the results were hardly better. The number of students per class was even higher, at an average of 64 for public education. The high level of this ratio translated into an increasingly reduced accessibility in the educational system, and such at all levels. A reduction in the primary admission rate, a bottleneck

at different transitory levels, and drops in the rates of school attendance were also observed (République de Côte d'Ivoire, 1991). In Abidjan, the school enrollment rate for children of 6 to 11 years of age was no greater than 67 percent in 1986 (République de Côte d'Ivoire, 1988a:29).

These observations on health and education are also valid for the transportation sector concerning demand which, with demographic pressure, has not ceased to rise. And this despite the fact that Abidjan possesses a roadway network and a public transportation park unique to the subregion (the rate of motorization has reached 22.4 percent for the whole country [Bonnamour, 1991], which signifies that it must be much higher in Abidjan). Despite considerable population growth, the bus fleet decreased between 1980 and 1987 from 1,751 to 1,208 (République de Côte d'Ivoire, 1988b).

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, EMPLOYMENT, AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN URBAN CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Recent Trends in Urban Economic Activity and Employment

With considerable contributions of the two components of demographic growth, strong urban growth reverberates on that of the labor force in the short term as well as in the long term. Thus in the period between the last two censuses (1975-88), the urban population of age of economic activity increased by 6.5 percent, growing from 1,213,670 to 2,245,325. In applying these numbers to the rates of economic activity observed as 44.8 percent and 43.8 percent in 1975 and 1988 respectively, one obtains an average growth rate of the labor force of 6.2 percent annually for that period.

Over the same period urban employment, measured by the volume of the employed urban labor force, grew by 5.4 percent. This is slightly inferior to that of the labor force. The compared evolution of these two aggregates thus reveals the existence of distortions in the urban labor market.

Indeed, according to the results of the 1988 census, the unemployment rate was very high, reaching 16 percent in Abidjan and 12 percent for all urban areas. The level of urban unemployment is thus double that of 1975, when the numbers were 8.8 percent and 6.3 percent, respectively.

The high level of unemployment is in fact merely the tip of the iceberg of the urban labor market's problems. It also includes some very important qualitative distortions. In fact, the relatively fast growth of urban employment is attributable more to development of the informal sector than to development of the formal sector. Because of this weak yield in the formal sector, growth in urban employment corresponds more to a hypertrophy of the job market than to a real development in employment. Thus underemployment is very high. This has led to an equivalent urban unemployment rate of 23.8 percent in 1985 (Kouame, 1987). Added to the observed unemployment, which was then at 6.2 percent, a rate of 30 percent was estimated for the underutilization of human resources in

1985 in the urban areas. This level could have increased in 1988 if one takes into account the greater level of unemployment at this date.

The Evolution of the Structure of Urban Employment

In a recent analysis of the structure of the job market in Côte d'Ivoire, the recorded strong urban growth led to a restructuring of this market which involves henceforth a nonstructured agricultural sector (NSAS), an informal nonagricultural sector (INAS), and a "modern" sector (MS) (Kouame, 1987). The informal and formal sectors are essentially found in urban areas, whereas the agricultural sector's activities are concentrated in rural zones. Urban employment can be subdivided into formal or modern employment and informal employment. These two types of urban employment experienced a high growth rate over the period 1965-85. Yet the informal sector experienced a much greater growth rate (11.9 percent annually) than the modern sector (7.2 percent annually). Because of this growth, the informal sector, whose share of the job market was merely 6.7 percent in 1965, offered nearly as many jobs as the "modern" sector in 1985 (13 percent as opposed to 14 percent). In reality, the formal sector experienced a drop in strength over the first half of the 1980s. This is at least such as we have already observed elsewhere on the evolution of the private and parapublic formal labor sector (Kouame, 1987). More rapid development of the informal sector will occur subsequent to the growing incapacity of the modern sector to satisfy employment demands. The high level of the rate of dissatisfaction even led to a decline in the inquiries at the employment office (Office de la main d'oeuvre de Côte d'Ivoire, OMOCI). This could be translated into workers' disillusionment over "modern" employment. Many of them would rather direct themselves into the informal sector than wait for a hypothetical job in the formal sector as they have done in the past.

Characteristics of the Informal Sector

If the informal sector is able to offer so many jobs, it is because its functional conditions enable it to do so. The weak yield which it characterizes is due to the use of high labor force-intensive techniques. This labor force is composed of a majority of apprentices and family aides. It accounts for very few wage earners. The use of labor force-intensive techniques is also due to the fact that workers in the informal sector are mainly illiterates who receive their training on the job, that is, in conditions which are not always favorable to the improvement of production techniques.

Because of the lack of qualifications, most workers in the informal sector can be found in the tertiary sector, in particular in the commercial sector, which demands few qualifications. Thus in 1985 workers in the informal sector were distributed with 66 percent in the tertiary sector and a rivaling 34 percent in the secondary sector, the proportion in the primary sector being negligible. This

Table 9.3

Structure of the Urban Informal Sector, 1978 and 1985

| Type of Sector | 1978 | 1985 |
|----------------|-------|-------|
| Primary | - | - |
| Secondary | 32.9 | 34.3 |
| Tertiary | 67.1 | 65.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Sources: République de Côte d'Ivoire, n.d., b; Binet, 1982.

Table 9.4

Evolution of the Structure of Modern Employment, 1974, 1979, and 1984

| Type of Sector | 1974 | 1979 | 1984 |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Primary | 25.0 | 11.5 | 16.4 |
| Secondary | 41.4 | 50.3 | 40.1 |
| Tertiary | 33.6 | 38.2 | 43.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: République de Côte d'Ivoire, n.d., a.

distribution of the informal sector's labor force between sectors of activity has not varied greatly with respect to what it was in 1978 (67 percent in the tertiary and 33 percent in the secondary sector) (Table 9.3).

The Structure of the Formal Sector

Employment in the formal sector is divided between the civil service, the parapublic sector, and the "modern" private sector. Since data are unavailable on the civil service, we will limit our discussion to employment in the parapublic and private sectors.

Study of the evolution of the structure of private and parapublic employment from 1974 to 1984 reveals a progressive increase in the tertiary sector's share. The relative importance of the primary sector declined in 1979 then increased in 1984. This climb occurred due to the substantial drop in industrial employment which accounted for the majority of jobs in 1979 (Table 9.4). The industrial

sector seems thus to have been the most affected by the economic crisis which has crossed the country since the end of the 1970s.

Household Income and Standard of Living

The average household income in Abidjan reached 128,000 cfa francs in 1988. This level represents a drop in comparison with that of 1985, which was 178,000 cfa francs, thus probably reflecting a worsening of the economic crisis. Despite this crisis, which started at the end of the 1970s, average household revenue experienced continuous growth until 1985. It was 55,000 and 70,000 cfa francs in 1963 and 1978, respectively. This trend probably reflects that of salaries. Indeed, the minimum salary experienced a considerable increase between 1970 (5,830 cfa francs) and 1978 (24,912 cfa francs) and then between 1978 and 1985 (33,274 cfa francs) to subsequently stagnate at the 1985 level henceforth (Blanc et al., 1991; DCGTX, 1989). In the modern private and parapublic sector, average income went from 29,000 cfa francs in 1971 to 60,000 cfa francs in 1979 and then 96,000 cfa francs in 1984 (République de Côte d'Ivoire, n.d., a). At the civil service, annual income of the scale's 100 index grew from 255,000 cfa francs in 1978 to 280,000 cfa francs in 1984 (République de Côte d'Ivoire, 1983). We do not have data for the period after 1985, but indications lead us to believe that there was a stagnation, even a drop, in salaries in the modern sector; the level observed at the civil service in 1984 is the same as that of 1981. If nominal salaries experienced such an evolution over the recent period, one can ask what it was for real incomes for the entire period after 1960.

Relying on the evolution of the consumer price index, it is feared that even the considerable growth in observed incomes before 1985 did not necessarily lead to a betterment in the standard of living—on the contrary. In fact, using 1963 as a base, the index rose to 309 in 1978, 543 in 1985, and 685 in 1988. The levels of observed incomes in 1978, 1985, and 1988 would have thus been widely inferior to that of 1963 once the prices had been fixed. Thus, the level of the real average household income in Abidjan would have been only 33,000 cfa francs in 1985. This corresponds to a considerable drop in the household standard of living compared with what it was in 1963. And all this excludes consideration that the averages so calculated hide enormous disparities which have induced the impoverishment of a larger and larger fringe of the population.

In fact, the distribution of revenues according to different criteria including sector of economic activity, nationality, and housing type, reveals enormous inequalities. In 1978, the results of the budget-consumption presurvey showed differentials in the level of income between the modern and informal sectors. Income levels were 44,610 cfa francs against 16,000 cfa francs in production and 54,000 cfa francs against 33,000 cfa francs in commerce for the formal and informal sectors respectively (Ministère de l'Économie et des Finances, 1980). These numbers also reveal the existence of differences according to whether one is engaged in production (industry or crafts) or in commerce within each sector.

(Ministère de l'Économie et des Finances, 1980). These latter variations were also observed from surveys on the labor force in the modern private and parastatal sector. The 1984 results indicated a greater average salary in the tertiary (123,900 cfa francs), followed by the secondary (90,200 cfa francs), and finally the primary (only 40,000 cfa francs) sectors. This hierarchy was observed for the other years during which this same survey was held (1971, 1973-74, and 1979). Disparities were also observed according to socioprofessional categories, as one would have expected, and national groups. In the latter case, non-Africans, who represented only 4 percent of wage earners, drew 27 percent of the wage bill. Meanwhile, natives of Côte d'Ivoire accounted for 68 percent and 60 percent, and Africans non-native to Côte d'Ivoire were at 28 percent and 13 percent, respectively. This gives average monthly salaries of 634,000, 88,000, and 49,000 in 1984 for each national group, respectively (République de Côte d'Ivoire, no date a). These inequalities were maintained in 1988 (Koffi, 1991). They were also observed in accordance with the type of housing. In 1988, average monthly household income reached 555,000 in residential housing, 185,000 in economic housing, 90,000 in evolutive housing, and 62,000 in shanty housing for a global monthly average of approximately 128,000 cfa francs (DCGTX, 1989: 58). With such inequalities, it is not surprising to confirm the strong concentration of revenues revealed by the previously cited 1978 survey. In Abidjan, 20 percent of the richest households disposed of 50 percent of revenues whereas the poorest 50 percent received only 23 percent (Ministère de l'Économie et des Finances, 1980).

POPULATION POLICIES RELATING TO URBANIZATION IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Until recently, Côte d'Ivoire had no explicit population policy. All that was known on the question related to the government of Côte d'Ivoire's opposition to broad family planning programs (Nortman, 1982). The government policy of advocating a strong demographic growth through high fertility was also inimical to the health of mother and children. It is also known, since the United Nations surveys on population policies, that the government is not satisfied with the current spatial distribution of the population and the continued intensity of foreign immigration. However, these are the results of options that the government itself retained at the beginning of the 1960s. They consisted of encouraging foreign African and non-African immigration and the simultaneous displacement of natives of Côte d'Ivoire from the rural zones toward urban areas and from the savanna to the forest zones.

In fact, it might not have been explicit, but a sound population policy existed in Côte d'Ivoire. It was integrated into the global development policy and consisted in furnishing the qualified and nonqualified labor force the economic structures lacking in the beginning of the 1960s (Kouame, 1987), taking into account the direction of the economic policy. Foreign immigration would have

helped resolve the scarcity of short-term labor whereas high fertility, in conjunction with the development of education, would have, in the long run, offered a local qualified and nonqualified labor force to the production apparatus. The production of this abundant labor force would also have aided a reduction in the costs of labor so as to attract foreign investments for the development of the industrial sector. In maintaining a very low remuneration for peasant work (Toure, 1985), the government encouraged the rural exodus of young educated natives of Côte d'Ivoire as to increase the supply of labor in the cities, particularly in Abidjan where industrial activity was concentrated. African immigration of the labor force would have thus compensated the departure of rural youth. But certain perverse effects of this policy (particularly the orientation of half of the African immigration toward the cities and the strong intensity of the rural exodus) led to greater than expected urban growth at the same time as it created a shortage of labor in the rural zones, according to predictions by F. Binet (1982).

This favorable direction for strong demographic growth and accelerated urbanization assumes that arrangements had been taken to create conditions for a successful insertion of inhabitants of the cities and particularly Abidjan. This implies the creation of a sufficient number of jobs, the production of adequate habitation, and the supply of social services to the urban populations without neglecting the rural populations. Just like the population policy, the housing and employment policies were entirely integrated into the global development policy (Antoine et al., 1987; Kouame, 1987). The pursued goals were to create modern housing and employment for the greatest number of people. This had not been possible, as was seen in previous sections. The only remaining option for the government of Côte d'Ivoire was to reorient its policies. This seems to have been done, but again within the framework of a global strategy for development.

Côte d'Ivoire's new model for development now really rests on the World Bank's new strategy to redress the African economy on the basis of structural adjustments and revalorization of human resources. Côte d'Ivoire's new population policy is included in the development of human resources, which also deals with health, education, and employment. Unfortunately, this policy has not yet been sufficiently detailed so as to know exactly what the implications will be on urbanization. However, a will to reduce the strong population growth can be noted, in acting on fertility and foreign immigration simultaneously (République de Côte d'Ivoire, 1991). It is especially intended to control fertility by the expansion of family planning services. Because the actual source of population growth in Abidjan is natural growth and thus fertility, this measure could contribute to a considerable reduction in the city's growth. A drop in fertility has already occurred in Abidjan as in other cities, where access to family planning services has become increasingly extensive, with the activities of the Ivorian Association for Family Well-Being (Association Ivoirienne de Bien-Etre Familial, AIBEF) essentially being concentrated in urban zones for the time being. We have also seen that the economic crisis would have entailed a re-

orientation in the migration flow toward secondary urban centers; measures relative to internal migration could be useful if taken in order to maintain this tendency with the aim of unblocking the city of Abidjan. To this effect, the decentralization policy in course, if it offered possibilities for the development of economic activities and particularly for the informal sector in the intermediate urban zones, could play here an important role. Concerning habitation, the government has resolved, following pressure from the World Bank, to lay aside prestige investments which reduced its capability to offer decent housing to a greater number of people. In this perspective, the state's tasks are reduced significantly, and a greater role is accorded to the municipalities for the management and maintenance of urban spaces and to the private sector for housing construction. Nonetheless, the state expects to dominate urban expansion with minimal equipment of new spaces so as to avoid the development of precarious housing. The minimal equipment implies a reduction in norms with respect to previous practice (Antoine et al., 1987). The totality of these measures (a reduction in urban growth which would imply such for the demand for housing, social services, etc.; a reduction in the norms for construction which would probably entail a more significant supply of housing) could, if the objectives were reached more than just partially, lead to an improvement in the standard of living in urban zones.

CONCLUSION

Côte d'Ivoire experienced very strong urban growth over the first two decades of its history (1960–80). This growth was particularly strong for the city of Abidjan. During the last decade (1980–90), urban growth has slowed considerably, and Abidjan was the most affected. This did not hinder it from remaining, by far, the country's most important city. Investments that could have helped in the development of the city of Bouaké were instead detoured to benefit Yamoussoukro and San Pedro, thus impeding the former from becoming a real pole for development in the country's center. Abidjan has maintained its weight despite the will for decentralization and urban planning. It would be preferable that this tendency continued without in any way creating a shortage in the labor force in the rural zones. If this were the case, it could be assumed that Abidjan's problems in housing, social services, equipment, and employment would be transferred to the secondary cities. Thus particular attention must be paid to these problems for all measures taken to maintain this tendency. The decentralization of the application of the urban policy could only contribute to the real improvement of urban standards of living if it aims, among other goals, to resolve these problems.

NOTES

1. These rates were calculated from data taken from Ba (1991).
2. Abidjan's average annual growth rate between 1975 and 1988 was 5.6 percent, and

its annual growth rate observed in 1988 was 4.8 percent. The divergence between these two rates is thus minimal.

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